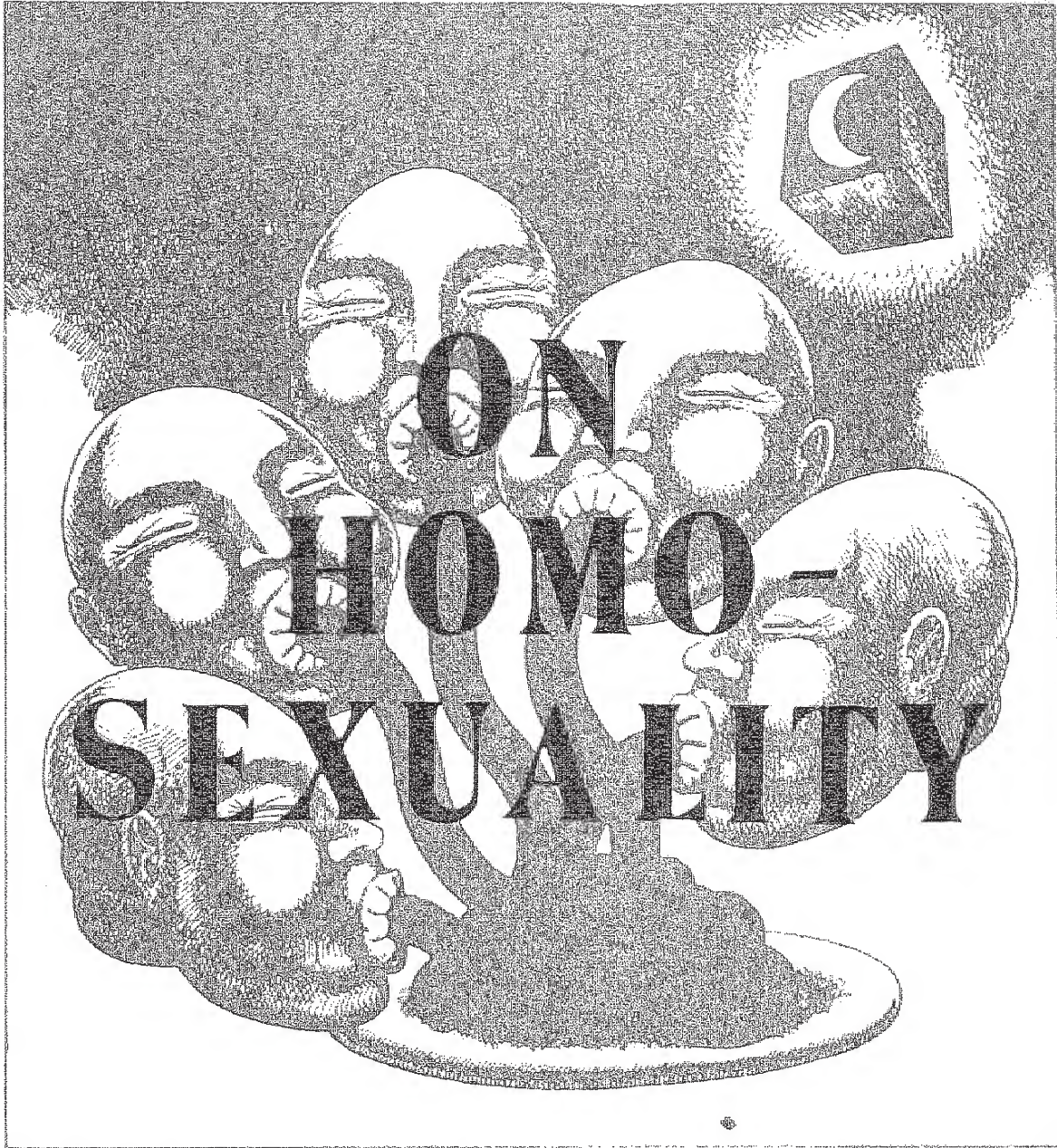


# Revolutionary Union



*A Stalino - Leninist Guide  
to Love and Sex*



NOTE: This pamphlet is a response to male-domination in the East/West social systems of capital accumulation. It is produced from a male perspective and thus contains conscious and unconscious emphasis on the male viewpoint, but the sexism of stalino-leninist ideology can hardly be obscured by a defective presentation.

Leninism, like corporate capitalism, has the notion that persons are "things" to be controlled, manipulated, bought and sacrificed to maintain and support a present or future ruling group. Leninist vanguard parties, in power or out, almost universally condemn love for one of the same sex as a transitory byproduct of capitalism, instead of seeing it as one basic way of relating to people. "Socialist" states recognize that the breakdown of heterosexuality and the monogamous ideal will threaten the breakdown of the family (that "factory for the reproduction of dominant cultural patterns" -- Reich), and with it threaten these states with a population no longer held in check by authoritarian conditioning and respect for power and tradition. A growing few leninist sects in the Western imperialist countries already consider recruitment from and "infiltration" of the gay liberation movement as a potential method for building their organizations. Obviously this tactic will succeed only to the extent that gay organizations follow the leninist model (dogma, hierarchy, manipulation) and to the extent that their members are colonized by bourgeois and leninist behavior patterns (acceptance of intellectual/moral/physical authority, puritanism, uncritical obedience). Similarly, the still-marginal trend in Western society to end legal and social oppression of homosexuals is widening -- but only to the extent that homosexuals adopt the moral values of straight society, play the roles, accept the "right" of straight society to reproduce itself, in other words restrict gay liberation to the bedroom.

The capitalists want to make us believe that if we are not happy with life it is because we are at fault for failing to get a satisfying job and for failing to practice the bourgeois ethical code. The leninists want to make us believe that their Workers' Government is a big improvement over the capitalist way of running things. Nonetheless, we who sell our time to either aren't making decisions, either about how we go about our jobs or whether what we're producing or doing is even worth producing or doing. We fail to rebel against these conditions in part because we have been conditioned since birth to play narrow sexual roles and to accept the legitimacy of parental and social authority. If people really were free and happy, would they seek self-fulfillment, for example, in (1) participating in a global war industry, (2) converting millions of trees into millions of tons of paper for advertising and administrative purposes, (3) being salespeople or East/West bureaucrats to push that same paper around, (4) being academic apologists for the necessity and virtue of the above activities? The fact that everywhere we are willing to play these and many other roles for global capitalism shows how little control we actually have over our lives.

Are we to overthrow East/West control of our personal relationships without overthrowing that same control of our social-productive lives?? One is impossible without the other, just as there is an indissoluble link between love and creativity. Down with the Mao Tse-tung/Pepsi Cola/Billy Graham axis!

April, 1975



# address to those who think themselves Normal

You do not feel that you are oppressors. You screw like everyone else, it's not your fault if there are sick people or criminals around. You can't help it, you say, since you are tolerant. Your society -- for if you screw like everyone else, then it is yours -- has treated us as a social plague for the State, as the object of scorn for true men, as the subject of fear for mothers. The same words that are used to designate us are your worst insults.

Have you ever thought of what we feel when you string these words together: "cocksucker, ass hole, fairy, queer"? when you say to a woman "Dyke"? You protect your daughters and your sons from our presence as though we were disease bearers.

You are individually responsible for the vile mutilation that you have made us undergo by reproaching us our desire. You who want a revolution, have wanted to impose upon us your repression. You fought for the Blacks, you treated the pigs like cocksuckers, as though there didn't exist a worse insult.

You, worshippers of the proletariat, have en-





couraged with all your might the maintenance of the virile image of the worker; you have said that revolution would be the work of a manly, rugged proletariat.

Do you know what it is like, for a young worker, to be a closet homosexual? Do you know, you who believe in the virtuous influence of the factory, what the person who is treated as a faggot, by his friends at work, goes through?

We know, because we know one another, because we alone can know. We are, with women, the moral door-mat on which you wipe your conscience.

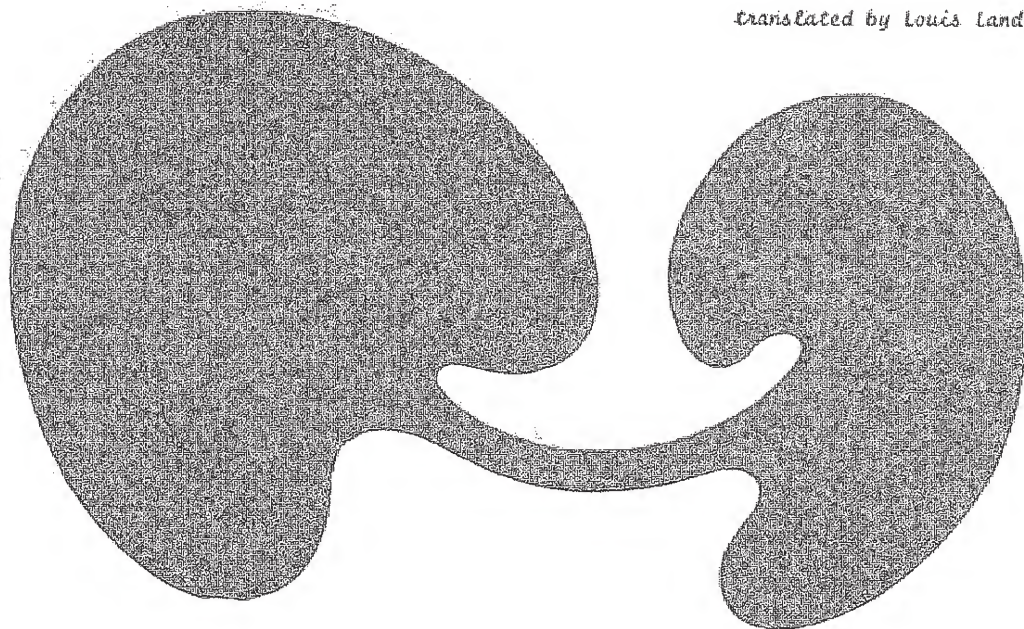
We are saying here that we've had enough, that you won't smash our faces any longer, because we will defend ourselves, that we will lead an offensive on your racism against us even as far as language.

We are saying more: we will not stop at defending ourselves, we are going to attack.

We are not against "straights", but against "straight" society. You ask: "What can we do for you?" You can't do anything for us as long as each one of you remains the representative of straight society, as long as you refuse to see all the secret desires that you have repressed. You can't do anything for us as long as you don't do anything for yourselves.

Front Homosexuel d'Action Revolutionnaire

*translated by Louis Landerson*





# ON HOMOSEXUALITY

## Revolutionary Union

The following is the R.U. position on homosexuality and gay liberation. Our position on homosexuality and the gay liberation movement starts from an analysis of the concrete conditions of life in the U.S.A. today. The problem we direct ourselves to is what is the correct path to follow if we are to defeat imperialism and establish socialism in this country, and what role will homosexuals and gay liberation play in the revolutionary struggle. We will deal first with our analysis of gay liberation.

The U.S.A. is an imperialist power on the decline. It is being attacked by rising revolutionary movements throughout the world and within the U.S.A. itself and it is facing increased competition from other imperialist powers. To maintain its wealth and power, the ruling class is forced to increase its oppression and exploitation at home. Although [it] hits hardest on Third World and working class people, it is felt by almost everyone, including large sections of the petty bourgeoisie. The alienation that people living in capitalist society already feel is greatly intensified. The ruling class attempts to hold back the advancing revolutionary movement by increasing the contradictions between white and Third World



"You must be a man, and only a man."

---Fidel Castro, to launch purge of homosexuals, 1965

*La Jirafa*, Mar 16 16, 1967, p. 4

#### ARTICLE 154-a

Sexual intercourse between two men (homosexuality) is punished by deprivation of liberty from 3 to 5 years. The same, if committed by using violence or by abusing the subordinate position of the victim, is punished by deprivation of liberty from 5 to 8 years.

*Revolucion y Libertad*, 1965, p. 10  
"REVOLUCION", 1965, p. 10







Lenin, great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, and his successor, the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin. After the death of Lenin, Stalin inherited and defended the cause of Leninism in his struggle against the class enemies at home and abroad and the Right and "Left" opportunists in the Party. He led the Soviet people to advance continually along the road of socialism, and won great victories. In World War II, under the command of Stalin, the Soviet people became the main force in defeating the fascist aggression and made meritorious achievements in the history of mankind which will never be effaced.

workers, between working class and the petty bourgeoisie, between men and women.

Homosexuality is a response - consciously or not - to a male supremacist society. Because it is a response to oppressive institutions and oppressive relationships it is not necessarily a progressive response or one that challenges the power of the monopoly capitalist. We see that the pressures that capitalist society [puts] on each individual are tremendous. The difficulty we have in all of our relationships, the lack of fulfillment in our daily lives is a source of anxiety and personal suffering. As our relation-

"The youth movement too is attacked with the disease of modernity in its attitude towards sexual questions and in being exaggeratedly concerned with them...You must be aware of the famous theory that in Communist society the satisfaction of sexual desires, of love, will be as simple and unimportant as drinking a glass of water. This glass of water theory has made our young people mad, quite mad. It has proved fatal to many

young boys and girls. Its adherents maintain that it is Marxist...I think this glass of water theory is completely un-Marxist, and moreover, anti-social...Of course, thirst must be satisfied. But will the normal man in normal circumstances lie down in the gutter and drink out of a puddle, or out of a glass with a rim greasy from many lips?"

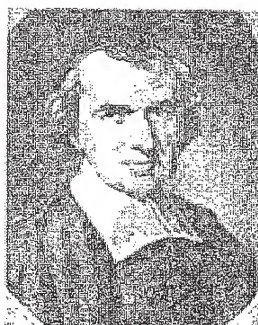
---Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Autumn, 1920

Reprinted in *Revolution and the Youth*





ships become unstable, people - particularly the petty bourgeoisie, which has more leisure time - scramble about in a desperate attempt to find some meaning in their lives. Today people are grasping at all kinds of straws, at exotic religious sects, mysticism, drugs, pornography, promiscuity, sex orgies, trotskyism, etc. People move to rural communes because they feel totally alienated from capitalist society, especially in the decaying urban centers. We can understand where such a response comes from, but we don't therefore call it progressive. A response, a movement, a struggle is progressive if it moves the struggle of the working class forward; if it



When the more bizarre forms of sexual gratification were drawn to [Stalin's] attention, he professed to be astonished, as when he is said to have found a work on the history of morals by a German sexual psychologist in Radek's apartment. Turning the pages, his eyes lit on one of the more fantastic illustrations with which the book was embellished. "Tell me, Radek," he asked, "do people really do this sort of thing?"

*Stalin, R. H. Brown, in Radek, 1931, p. 117*

The heart of the question that the comrades are asking is this: Is it anti-communist to have sexual relations with other than husband or wife, is it anti-communist to have sexual relations before marriage?

*Stalinist, June 14, 1931, Communist Party Paper, New York, 1931*







The October League tends to ignore the subject of sexual repression altogether. Michael Klonsky, leader of the OL, explained at a panel discussion in San Diego this summer why this question had not been taken up by his organization, saying that he didn't see why so much fuss was being made about something that only took a few minutes a day. The October League did not, however, draw back from assisting in the exclusion of a group of lesbian members of the Chicago Women's Union from a trip to China.

*Women and Revolution, Autumn 1978, p. 5*



doesn't, it is not progressive.

Homosexuality is an individual response to male supremacy and male chauvinism; it is a response which turns its back to the struggle between men and women. We think that Lesbianism is more understandable as an escape from male chauvinism; male homosexuality reinforces male chauvinism in its refusal to deal with relationships with women. Both forms of homosexuality, however, are premised upon the unwillingness to struggle with the opposite sex in very important relationships.

It is important to deal concretely with homosexual relationships as they exist in our society today. Many people, especially women, have become homosexuals as a matter of choice, usual-





# The Chinese and Sex

Ann Landers

Dear Readers: Here's another column on my visit to The People's Republic of China as a member of the American Medical Association's delegation.

My question to a 35-year-old Chinese professional woman (married), one of the most attractive and articulate people I met on the entire trip:

"I understand there is very little premarital sex in your country. Is this true?"

Answer: "Yes. And there are good reasons for it. Nearly half of our country's population is under 10 years of age. This means 400 million of our people have been reared under Mao's teachings.

"To keep the birth rate down, the Chairman has suggested 25 as a good age for a woman to marry, and 28 for a man. Sex before marriage is considered highly immoral

and completely unacceptable.

"Our young people are taught at a very early age that all their time and energy must be spent in self-improvement, study or work."

Question: "But how do they keep their normal sex drives under control? Isn't it natural for members of the opposite sex to become attracted to one another?"

Answer: "A child whose thoughts are conditioned from birth grows up to believe as he has been taught. We teach our young children that sex before marriage is a shameful and disgraceful thing. A young couple who strays from these teachings is looked down upon by their peers.

"The Chairman's motto is, 'Serve the people,' and young couples who spend their time amusing themselves with sex are not serving the people.

They are being selfish, and they are taking time and energy from study and work."

Question: "Are you saying there is no premarital sex in The People's Republic of China?"

Answer: "Such a statement would be ridiculous. In a country with 600 million people, there must, of course, be exceptions.

"But I am sure we have less sex before marriage as well as OUTSIDE of marriage, than any country in the world. Adultery is quite uncommon. It is considered 'how-how' (very bad) by relatives, friends and fellow workers."

Question: From my conversations with both women and men here, I'm beginning to get the impression that there is also less sex INSIDE of marriage. Am I right?"

Answer: "Probably, as compared with other countries. And there is a reason for this. In Old China, concubines and prostitutes were part of the culture. They provided the sexual entertainment. Wives were not expected to be sexy. They were for childbearing.

"Today, concubines and prostitutes are against the law and most wives look upon sex as their mothers did. Also, they are too hard-working to be sexy. After a woman has produced one or two children, she feels she has done her duty. There are many exceptions, of course, but most Chinese women consider sex a chore."

ly after some involvement in the women's movement. These are women who said that they wouldn't or couldn't deal with men in their personal relationships. Such a choice is clearly individualist; it says: I have a right to relate the way I want to, I can do what I want with my body. There are many people who became homosexual out of inclination, or for a thousand other reasons which we can call more or less unconscious. Objectively, however, there are no real difference [s] between the two cases, although the subjective attitudes of the people involved might be different. In both cases, people are in relationships which necessarily place them outside the mainstream of our society and thus puts enormous strains upon the relationships, strains over and above which exist in heterosexual relationships, which are by no means



MOSCOW: Asked about the Soviet Union's official policy towards homosexuals in their country, the Ministry of the Interior said that broad guidelines had been laid down in an international conference in Geneva in 1924.

At this conference, he said, it was accepted that homosexuality was partly a sickness -- and agreement had been reached on how homosexuals should be treated.

Soviet Union, March 14-21, 1974, p. 20

Any romantic attachment that goes the distance, outside the marriage bed, is actually a statutory offense, worth six months in jail for the overeager young man...

Women in Moscow, March, April, 1974





ideal. Because of such strains, homosexual relationships are rarely long lasting. The relationships that are principled require much more cultivation, much more time and energy - in short, much more self indulgence. This is not meant to put down such relationships as abnormal or immoral. It is simply a recognition of the social context in which homosexual relationships must



"Young people, particularly, need the joy and force of life. Healthy sport, swimming, racing, walking, bodily exercises of every kind, and many-sided intellectual interests. Learning, studying, inquiry, as far as possible in common. That will give young people more than eternal theories and discussions about sexual problems and the so-called 'living to the full'. Healthy bodies, healthy minds!"

---Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Autumn, 1920

*Reminiscences of Lenin, Georgi Jerken, 1930*



exist. As materialists we don't deal with anything in the abstract, we don't deal with homosexuality as it might exist in some future society where people live without sexual or other inhibitions. We don't make reference to some so-called "natural" state. As a rule, homosexual relationships in our society are extremely dif-



Under Soviet conditions masturbation is no longer the mass phenomenon it was in the past...No illness was ever caused through abstinence, which is quite harmless for young and less young alike... The law cannot concern itself with every case of immoral conduct. The pressure of public opinion must continue to play the leading role against all forms of immorality.

*Problems of Sexual Education, V.S. Adorov (Physician Director of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic), 1955, Moscow quoted in The Internationalist, p. 37-38*

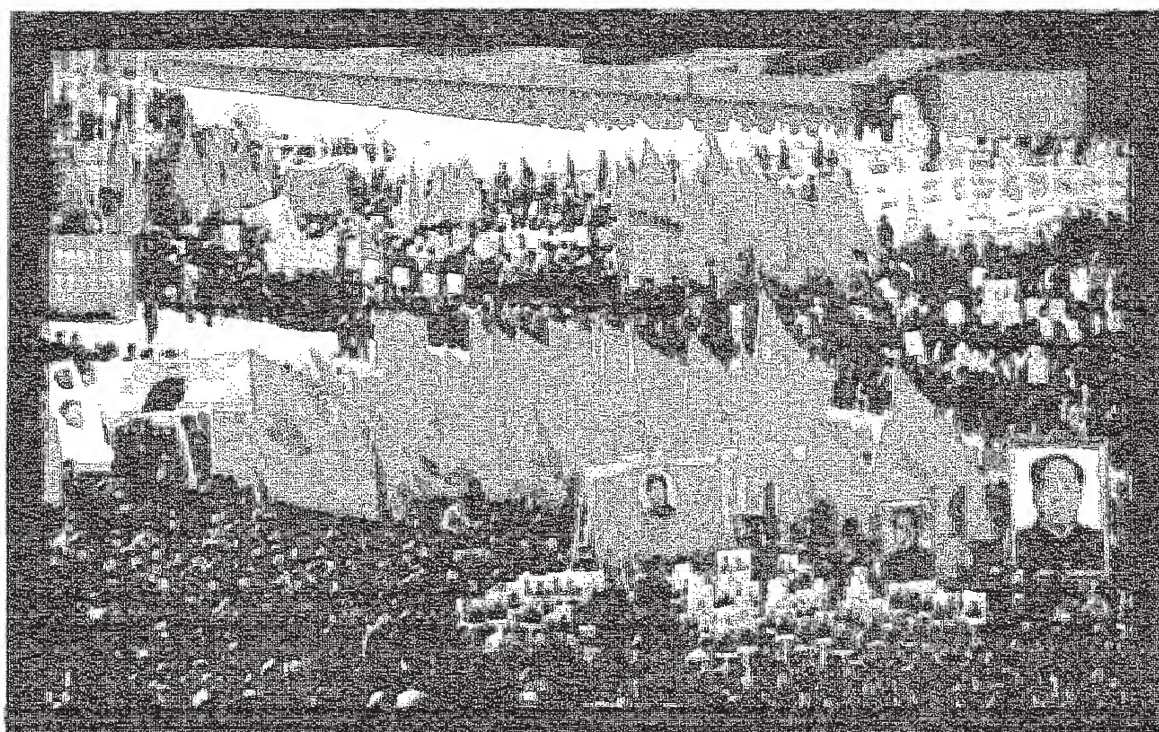


ficult, require a lot of time to make work, if they work at all. They involve a great deal more cultivation than do heterosexual relationships.

Based on the above considerations, we see that homosexuals are forced to live on the periphery of society (insofar as their relationships are subject to public abuse), and therefore, such relationships can be only individual solutions to



the contradictions of imperialism, much in the same way as going to live on a commune is an individual response to alienation or in the same way as embracing a religion is an individual solution. Because people who make such a choice are estranged is unfortunate, but again it is not a sign of their being progressive. The thing that makes it individual - and not progressive -



is not that it is done alone (communes can involve a lot of people), but that it does not engage the masses of people in struggle, it doesn't organize or set the basis for organizing masses of people to fight around their needs.

In posing an individual solution to the contradictions of monopoly capitalism, homosexuality is an ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, and must be clearly distinguished from proletarian ideology. The ideology of the working class is based on the knowledge that the only way to resolve the contradictions of capitalism is through mass struggle with each other and against our common oppressors. To say that homosexuality is based on petty bourgeois ideology is not to cast aspersions on homosexuals any more than calling most students petty bourgeois is to put them down. As



"The most important thing for the liberation of women is that there be an equal number of men and women in parliament...women elected as governors and senators...then there will be equality."

"...Any woman, no matter what post she occupies, should remain a woman...She should know how to cook and how to keep house nicely. If

she does not, she is not a woman.

"...The highest appraisal...payment...for women would be respect from the family... They should understand that bringing up children and keeping the house is also important."

---Yekaterina Alekseyevna Furtseva, Minister of Cultural Affairs of the USSR

*New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1972, p. 42

Chairman Mao says: "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class."

To say that homosexuality is stamped with the brand of the petty bourgeoisie should not imply that gay people cannot be and are not strong fighters against imperialism. But we should be clear that it is not the homosexuality of gay people which makes them into anti-imperialist fighters. It is quite possible that many gay people begin to recognize the nature of imperialism as a system because of particular attacks on their democratic rights. There is, however, often a difference between the way in which people come to recognize the beast and the weapons they use in fighting it. Gay people can be anti-imperialists, because they see imperialism as the en-







emy and they can understand and take up the main spearheads of struggle against imperialism.

While gay people can be anti-imperialists we feel that they cannot be Communists. To be a Communist, we must accept and welcome struggle in all facets of our lives, personal as well as political. We cannot struggle with male supremacy in the factory and not struggle at home. We feel that the best way to struggle out such contradictions in our personal lives is in stable monogamous relations between men and women based on mutual lives and respect. Because homosexuals do not carry the struggle between men and women into their most personal relationships they are not prepared, in principle, for the arduous task of class transformation.

As Communists we have chosen to put class struggle and the revolutionary movement of the working class and all oppressed peoples into the



In Shanghai, members of the Revolutionary Committee demand mercilessly that they be asked more and more questions. "How would you deal with a case of rape?" causes slight consternation, however. "Rape does not exist in China," comes the inevitable reply. "Maybe not, but tell me how would you handle a rape case if such an unimaginable event should ever occur?" This causes the members to retire to a corner of the room, where a heated debate goes on for five minutes or so. Then, proudly and with complete certainty, the leader announces: "Should a rape be committed, we should arrange a marriage."

The East Asia Evening Review, (Shanghai), 1949, 12, 12th, p. 18





forefront of our lives. It is a serious task. "A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay or painting a picture." Because homosexual relationships require so much time we have found that homosexuals have had an extremely difficult time meeting the strenuous requirements of a communist organization and they have often put unnecessary burdens on their comrades.

Because we put class struggle first, we are opposed to all relationships which are seen by the people in them as the main source of their well being or as a source of personal salvation. It is extremely difficult to have totally fulfilling relationships in this society and any attempt to have one must be a fulltime job. As things exist now, given the prevalent conditions of relationships under capitalism, we see that monogamous heterosexual relationships are by far the most favorable for providing the grounds for struggle, respect and love. And it is within such relationships that Communists can best devote their lives to the enormous task ahead. It is important for us to deal with the reality that



Koreans generally have beautiful voices, and it is really terrible to hear a good-looking girl make hoarse sounds.

*On Creating Revolutionary Literature and Art, Kim Il-Sung, 1970, p. 15*

...[The opera *A True Daughter of the Party*] portrays the heroic exploits of a nurse, Kang Yon Ok, during the Korean war of 1950-53. Kang finally earns membership in the Korean Workers (Communist) Party, only to die while protecting others during an American air raid.

The nurse's dying words are: "Comrade party cell chairman, here's the monthly party fee."

The opera reaches its climax with the nurse's death, the trooping of a huge red flag, a North Korean battle victory in the distance, tracer bullets, and a galvanic chorus -- "Every moment of our lives we will dedicate to our leader!"

*New York Times, Jan. 19, 1977, p. 3*





The red sun rises in the east; the cheering and applause of the masses sound like thunder. Our great teacher, great leader, great heroic commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao preside the arena of the great proletarian cultural revolution from Tien An Men Gate. They are full of energy and vitality. For Chairman Mao to be in such good health is the greatest happiness of the Chinese people and the people of the world.

now exists, with the material conditions which now exist. Utopian schemes for relationships such as bisexuality will only disrupt our work. We are not dealing with chimeras of the mind but with a powerful enemy. Perhaps in some future society bisexuality will blossom. That is not for us to decide, and we certainly can't base our lives and the revolutionary movement on such experiments. It is not a change in life style that will overthrow imperialism, but a united front led by the working class fighting in its material interests.

When homosexuality is raised to a principle, when the banner of "gay is good" is raised as a strategy for defeating imperialism, then it becomes a reactionary force retarding the struggle of the working class and of the people as a whole. This is born out in both the theory and the practice of the gay liberation movement.

There has been a lot of confusion about the relationship of women to the gay liberation movement. Much of this confusion is based on





HAVANA, May 27 (Reuters) The University of Havana has launched a campaign against homosexuality. Jaime Crombet, president of the University Student Federation, declared that inquests were going to be opened by discipline committees formed by the students themselves, and that those who were found guilty would be dismissed immediately.

Some people believe that the campaign is not to be limited to the University of Havana, but must be extended into the artistic spheres, notably to those of the theater and dance. "What is at stake is an ideological battle against all forms of deviation in the heart of the University. Our goal is the elimination of all corrupted elements," added Mr. Crombet.

*Le Monde, Aug 28, 1965, p. 3*



the fact that many sections of the petty bourgeois women's movement of the sixties concentrated on the psychological aspects of the oppression of women, on the attitude of male chauvinism. Women's oppression was caused by sexist attitudes, by male chauvinist ideas which placed women (and men) in certain well defined roles.

With such an analysis, parts of the women's movement began to see that gay people were equally oppressed by sexist attitudes and gay relationships equally distorted by oppressive roles. The oppression of women and gay people were seen as rooted in the same cause: sexism.

What this analysis left out was the primary cause of women's oppression, that is, the material cause of their oppression. That is why we speak of male supremacy to speak of the institutional forms of oppression, and male chauvinism as the ideology and psychological attitudes which are used to justify male supremacy. In Marxist terminology they are related as base to superstructure. The oppression of women developed historically out of the division of labor of ancient slave society and continues today



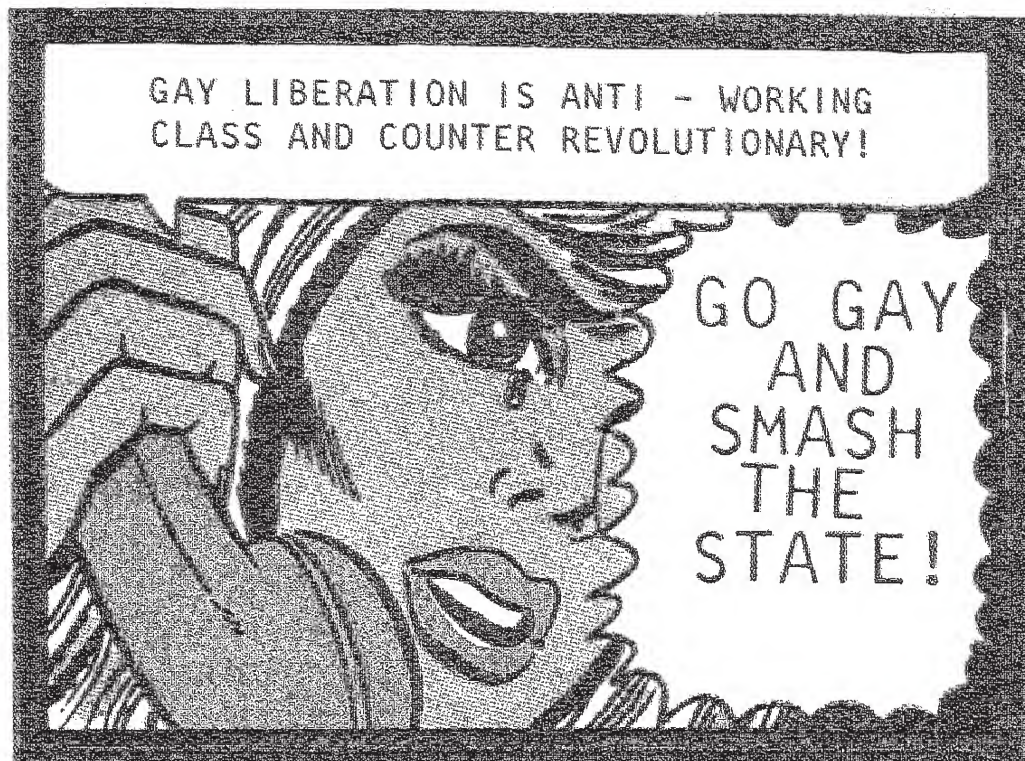
### In China...

Does a tacitly "engaged" couple ever make love? "Instances of premarital relations are really rare," replied a doctor friend. "As for actual promiscuity, it is regarded as a deviation requiring social discipline or, in repeated cases, reform in confinement. Extra-marital intercourse is uncommon but it occurs more often than premarital intercourse."

*The Long Revolution, Edgar Snow, 1973, p. 46*







with the division of labor in capitalist society. The oppression of women is based primarily on material oppression due to their position in production (reserve labor force, cheap labor, unpaid labor in the home) and reproduction (as mothers). Imperialism profits directly from the oppression and exploitation of women. This is not true for gay people. They are not materially oppressed as a group, and the denial of their democratic rights does not secure great profits for the ruling class.

The confusion of the fight for democratic rights with a liberation struggle is based on idealistic, metaphysical understanding of oppression. To raise the slogan of "go gay and smash the state" is to lead all people down the road of certain defeat. The gay liberation movement has no class analysis of imperialism, it claims to be above classes, attacking the "deeper" roots of oppression. The roots of oppression are summed

During the summer of 1965, for example, the revolutionary authorities...started a cruel campaign against homosexuals. They did not encumber themselves with theoretical explanations or justifications but simply drafted "guilty" and suspects alike into UMAP (Military Units to Aid Production). Most of this contingent was made up of intellectuals -- Khrushchev had already said that only a

homosexual could be an abstract painter -- and the purge at Havana University had been specially severe. But in contrast to what usually happens in socialist countries, the Cuban Union of Writers and Artists (UNEAC), far from applauding the wisdom of the political leaders, had sent them a very bitter letter of complaint. Fidel heeded their appeal and the UMAPs were dissolved.

*Guerrillas in Boots*, R.D. Austin, 1970, p. 495



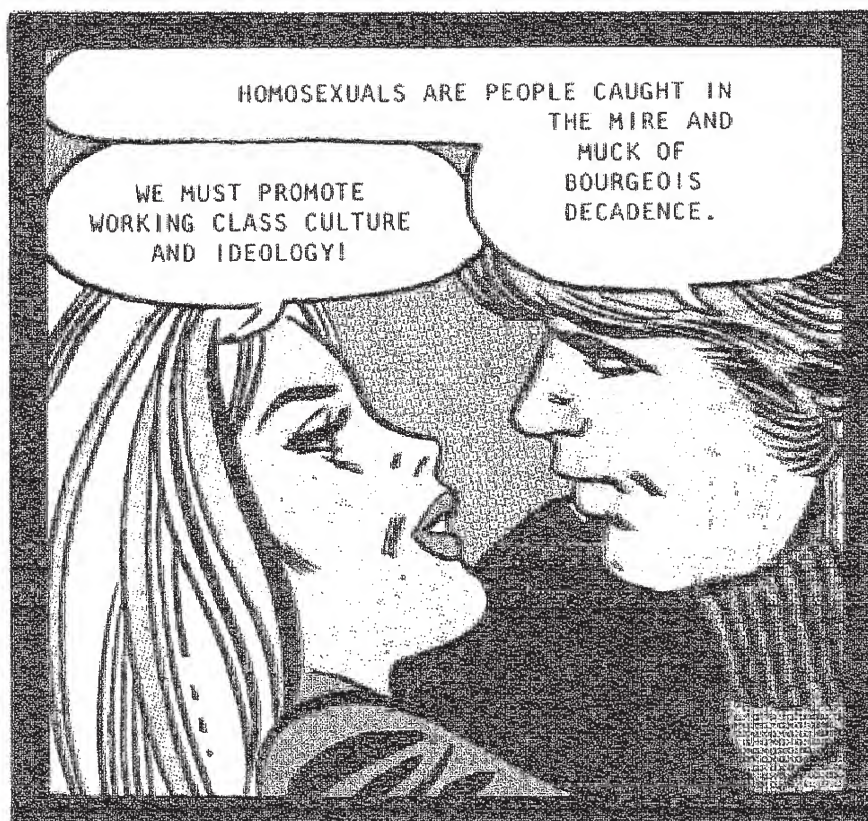


[Alexandra Kollontai] declared that for her a man was merely a necessity, like a glass of water for a thirsty person. And she drank from many glasses, often from several at once. Stalin despised her for this...Stalin never would shake hands with her. He will never forget nor condone her glass-of-water theory.

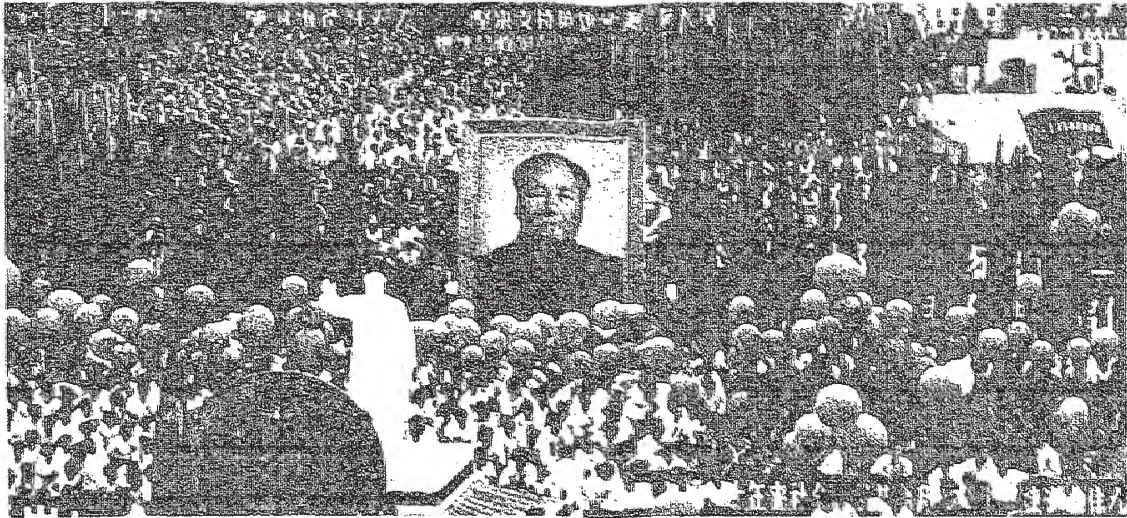
*I Was Stalin's Bodyguard, Ahmed Auba, 1952, p. 72*



up in the fundamental contradiction in capitalist society, that between the petty bourgeoisie and the working class. In reality, gay liberation is anti-working class and counter revolutionary. Its attacks on the family would rob poor and working class people of the most viable social unit for their survival and for the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist system. The only real liberation, the only road to real happiness for homosexuals - like all people caught in the mire and muck of bourgeois decadence - is to eliminate the reactionary, rotting system that drives them to homosexuality; and to build a new society, under the rule of the working class, that promotes working class culture and ideology -

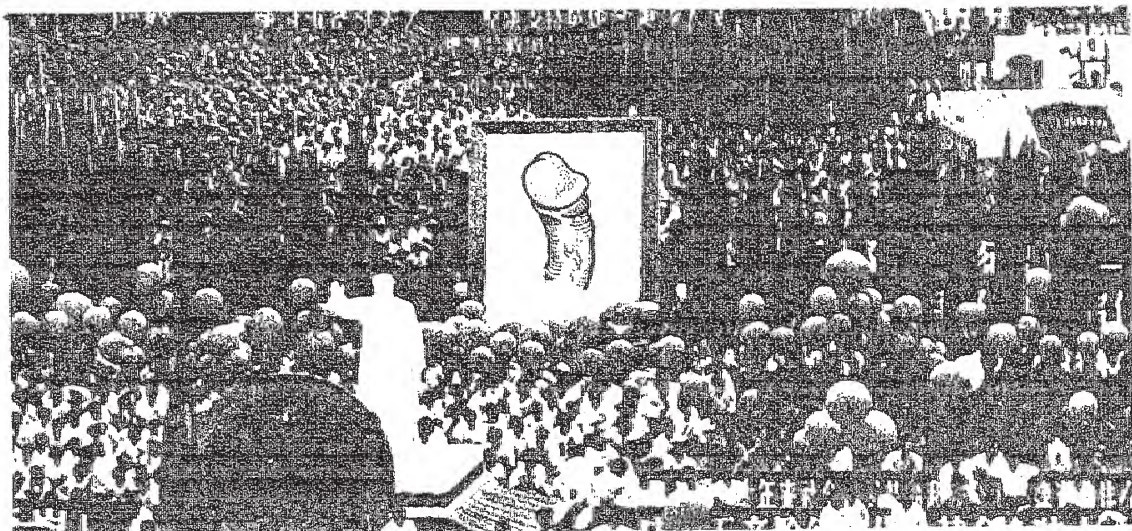




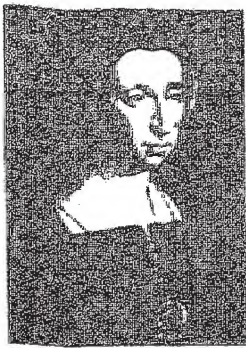


the principles of equality, cooperation and the dignity of collective labor - in opposition to selfishness, self-indulgence and the decadence of individualism and exploitative relations.

The practice of gay liberation bears out its anti-working class ideology. An example of this is a demonstration called by the National Organization of Women in N.Y.C. last August. Although N.O.W. is petty bourgeois it does have progressive aspects. At this rally, Third World women who had led the struggle of maids at Columbia University against discrimination in hiring and firing were scheduled to speak. Lesbian activists attacked the speakers' stand and seized the microphone because no Lesbians had been on the program. This destroyed the rally and held back the







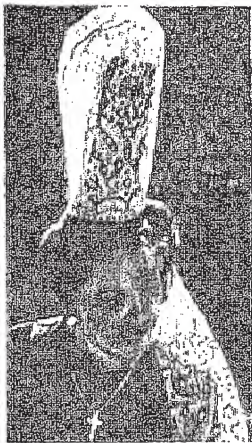
I then pulled a gaffe by asking if sexual relations outside marriage were common in view of the trend to late marriage. Yu, glancing about in embarrassment at the other Chinese who had crowded into the dispensary out of curiosity, lost his temper with me for the first and only time and snapped: "That's a silly question." But he put it to the doctor and nurse, who said that extramarital relations were rare.

*Journey Between Two Worlds, Seymour Topping, 1977, p. 197*



unity of the women's movement.

Gay women also played a destructive role in N.Y. in recent planning for a rally around International Women's Day. All groups present agreed on only raising slogans concerning the democratic rights of women such as daycare and free abortion. The fragile unity which existed between the participating groups was destroyed when the gay women refused to take part in any demonstration which didn't "raise support for gay liberation" as a slogan. Many of the Third World women



"...Nearly 20% of [homosexuals] attempt suicide, [however] 60% do not want to be treated in any way because they consider their own condition to be normal.

"The most highly recommended method of treatment in such cases is a combination of hypnosis and small doses of apomorphine, which produces nausea. The patient is not told about the effect of the drug, but when it is at its height he is shown [homosexual] pictures and films to accompany the acute nausea. This aversion treatment is given several times but the results appear to be doubtful...At best it only produces a temporary cure."

---Abram Moiseyevich Svyadosch in Female Sexopathology, Moscow, 1974

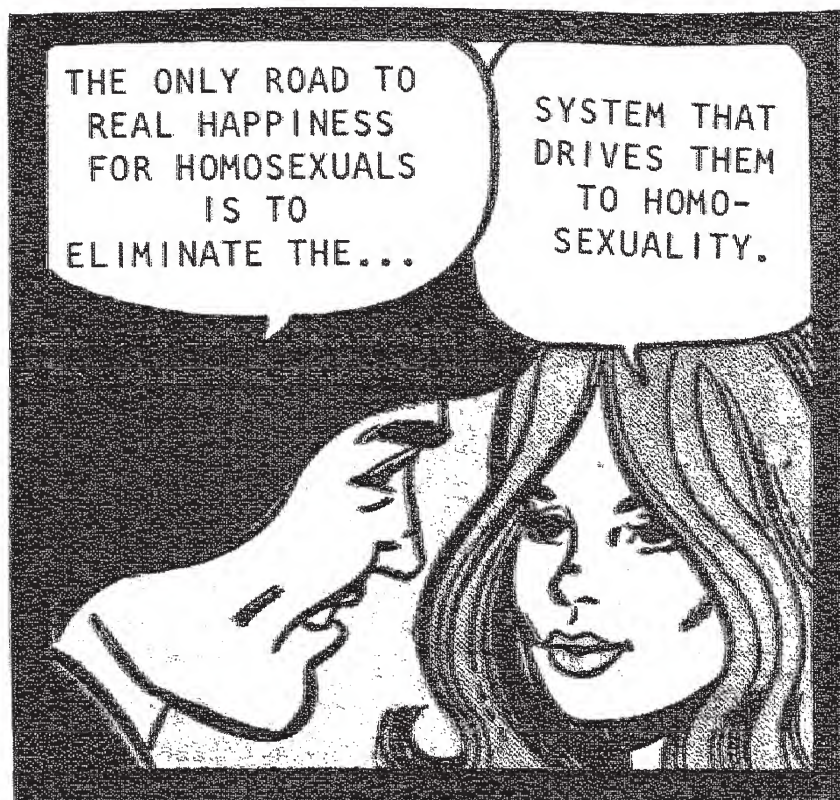
*Gay News*, Sept. 12-25, 1974, p. 5



in the group were dismayed at the blatantly anti-working class and national chauvinist character of the gay group.

The R.U. supports the democratic rights of gay people under capitalism but we do not feel that the Attica Brigade has to take a stand on this question. Although we support these democratic rights, we do not do so in an abstract way. We oppose the arbitrary use of laws against homosexuality and we oppose bourgeois methods of treating homosexuals as "criminals". We do not





uphold any so-called general abstract "right to be homosexual". To make a comparison with religion - we support the democratic rights of people to exercise freedom of religion, but we wouldn't support the right of some Jesus-freak sect to proselytize in working class neighborhoods, but we would support a Black Muslim being brutalized in prison. We support the democratic right of free speech, but we don't support the racial demagogues.



PEKING, Sept. 17 (AFP) A Chinese peasant who had himself sterilized "in order to consecrate all his energies to the construction of socialism in China," has been warmly congratulated by Mr. Chou-en-Lai in public according to *Communist Youth* (the official organ of the League of Young Communists) in its issue of September 1...

*Communist Youth and Youth's Daily*, another official publication of the League of Young Com-

munists, discuss the matter of birth control at great length and advise their readers to marry as late as possible, if they absolutely have to reject celibacy...The League of Young Communists also publishes numerous letters from both sexes that proclaim their decision to remain celibate and chaste.

*Ly. World*, Sept. 18, 1963, p. 8



SECTION III

ARTICLE 12: To institute a "Motherhood Medal" -- 1st and 2nd class -- for award to mothers who have given birth to and brought up:

5 children . . . 2nd class medal

6 children . . . 1st class medal

ARTICLE 13: To establish the Order "Motherhood Glory" -- 1st, 2nd and 3rd class -- for award to mothers who have given birth to and brought up:

7 children . . . 3rd class

8 children . . . 2nd class

9 children . . . 1st class

ARTICLE 14: To establish that mothers who have given birth to and brought up 10 children shall receive the title of honor "Heroine Mother" with award of the Order Heroine Mother and certificate of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

---The Family Law of July 8, 1944

*The Family in the U.S.S.R., Rudolf Schlesinger, 1949, p. 371-372*

As Communists, we are always guided by the revolutionary principle: to promote, defend and fight for whatever builds the unity of the proletariat and the people in struggle against monopoly capitalist rule; to expose, oppose and struggle against everything that divides, demoralizes and weakens the proletariat and the overall anti-imperialist struggle.

Our position can be summarized in three main points:

(1) Homosexuality in the U.S. today is an individual response to the intensification of the contradictions brought about by decaying imperialism; in particular it is a response to the contradiction between men and women which is rooted in male supremacist institutions and male chauvinist ideology. Because homosexuality is rooted in individualism it is a feature of petty bour-





LOS ANGELES--A gay communist group was denied participation in an October [1974] demonstration in support of Puerto Rican independence. The Lavender & Red Union learned of the demonstration, sponsored by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee, through a public leaflet, and requested that they be allowed to enter a gay contingent in the parade. The request was denied by the majority of supposedly socialist groups; those voting against were the Free Los Tres, La Raza Unida Party, and Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and not voting were the Socialist Workers Party and the October League. Two groups, the International Socialists and the New American

Movement, voted for inclusion of the gay contingent.

The reactionary elements dragged out the usual hoary arguments: that the representative of PSP had never been confronted with the concept of a gay marxist-leninist, that LRU's presence would offend their constituency and them, and that gayness in Puerto Rico is a product of U.S. imperialism and bourgeois decadence and would disappear after liberation. The last is the same justification used by the ruling bureaucrats in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in their attempts to exterminate gays through "education" and other means.

*Gay Liberation, Dec. 1974 - Jan. 1975, p. 5*

geois ideology which puts forth the idea that there are individual solutions to social problems.

(2) Because homosexuality is based on petty bourgeois ideology and deals with the contradiction between men and women by turning its back on it, (at least in intimate personal relationships), homosexuals cannot be Communists, that is, belong to Communist organizations where people are committed to struggle against all aspects of their lives.

(3) Gay Liberation in its putting forth of gayness as a strategy for revolution in this country is a reactionary ideology and can lead us only down the road of demoralization and defeat.





# appendix on Cuba

## DECLARATION BY THE FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS ON EDUCATION AND CULTURE, 1971

The social pathological character of homosexual deviations was recognized. It was resolved that all manifestations of homosexual deviations are to be firmly rejected and prevented from spreading. It was pointed out, however, that a study, investigation, and analysis of this complex problem should always determine the measures to be adopted.

It was decided that homosexuality should not be considered a central problem or a fundamental one in our society, but rather its attention and solution are necessary.

A study was made of the origin and evolution of this phenomenon and of its present-day scope and antisocial character. An in-depth analysis was made of the preventive and educational measures that are to be put into effect against ex-

amine how best to tackle the problems of the presence of homosexuals, in the various institutions of our cultural sector.

It was proposed that a study should be made to find a way of applying measures with a view to transferring to other organizations those who, as homosexuals, should not have any direct influence on our youth through artistic and cultural activities.

It was resolved that those whose morals do not correspond to the prestige of our revolution should be barred from any group of performers representing our country abroad.

Finally, it was agreed to demand that severe penalties be applied to those who corrupt the morals of minors, depraved repeat offenders and irredeemable antisocial elements.

Cultural institutions cannot serve as a platform for false intellectuals who try to make snobbery, extravagant conduct, homosexuality and other social aberrations into expressions of revolutionary spirit and art, isolated from the masses and the spirit of the revolution.

*Excerpted from Granma, daily organ of the Communist Party of Cuba*



isting focuses, including the control and relocation of isolated cases and degrees of deterioration.

On the basis of these considerations, it was resolved that it would be convenient to adopt the following measures:

a) Extension of the coeducational system: recognition of its importance in the formation of children and the young.

b) Appropriate sexual education for parents, teachers and pupils. This work must not be treated as a special subject but as one falling into the general teaching syllabus, such as biology, physiology, etc.

c) Stimulation of proper approach to sex. A campaign of information should be put into effect among adolescents and young people which would contribute to the acquisition of a scientific knowledge of sex and the eradication of prejudices and doubts which in some cases result in the placing of too much importance on sex.

d) Promotion of discussion among the youth in those cases where it becomes necessary to delve into the human aspect of sex relations.

It was resolved that for notorious homosexuals to have influence in the formation of our youth is not to be tolerated on the basis of their "artistic merits."

Consequently, a study is called for to deter-

## TALK WITH JOSE A. CHAVEZ, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE DISTRICT HOUSING PROJECT IN SANTIAGO

"We don't need in the society we are building someone interested in this...If we find someone practices this thing we don't move him to this district. They have to be married. Single people are moved elsewhere..."

"No, no, no, we don't move any homosexuals here. And no married bisexuals. We make an investigation into all members of the family. We can also detect this while they are still working in the mini brigade. It's the same with a loafer; we don't move his family to the district either. We make a very hard selection."

"We understand that people here should be completely pure, free from that sort of custom. We aspire to make our tenants model people. This way the district will be a socialist society and all the residents will arrive to a 100 percent level of harmonious living together."

WHY NO HOMOSEXUALS?

"Let's just say this spoiled apple is in this box with everybody and we have to eliminate it."

*World Cuba News, Washington, 1972, p. 127-128*



# POLICY FOR RECRUITMENT FOR THE FIFTH VENCEREMOS BRIGADE---SPECIFICALLY CONCERNING THE GAY LIBERATION MOVEMENT:



Through many discussions in the past few months, the National Committee of the Venceremos Brigade (BV) has formulated several conclusions concerning the practice of the gay liberation movement. And from these, we have developed a policy concerning recruitment from the gay movement.

The Cuban people, opening a full discussion on homosexuality, have come to a certain perspective on its origin and its historical development within Cuba. They have done so by examining the role of homosexuals within the revolutionary context of the society. The present conclusion of this discussion is that homosexuality in Cuba is a social pathology left over from the decadent bourgeois order.

We feel that however else the gay movement may be progressing in other aspects of its practice within the U.S., we believe that the path it has generally taken regarding Cuba (generally anti-Cuban) is dangerous and incorrect — and must be corrected if the gay movement is to move in a consistently anti-imperialist direction.

Generally, the past activities of the gay North Americans have been destructive. A list of specific activities would include "re-educating the Cubans" (assuming that the situation in Cuba must be the same as that of the U.S.), outright attacks and denunciations on the Cuban Revolution "boycotts", remaining silent and allowing incorrect tendencies to flourish unchallenged, etc.

In general, homosexuals in Cuba have not participated in the revolutionary process. They have existed side by side with the Revolution, and are essentially parasites in the revolution. (It must be noted that there are a few exceptions; however, here we are not concerned with individuals and individual actions, but with groups and group actions.) This has been the reality of homosexuals in Cuba; and it is on this

basis that their conclusions rest. (This basis has nothing to do with the policy demanding all brigadistas to strive to be consistent anti-imperialists, both in theory and practice, in words and in action. Cultural imperialist activity is not and will not be tolerated on the BV. Clearly, this is the only logical position that an anti-imperialist project can take.)

These activities are particularly dangerous at this time because they join a cultural imperialist offensive against the Cuban Revolution carried out by U.S. imperialism in an attempt to discredit the Revolution and alienate North Americans from it.

Secondly, the above manifestations tend to distort the gay movement's perspective on Cuba's position on homosexuality in Cuba. This reaches such absurdities as feeling that the Cuban Revolution is "witch-hunting" for homosexuals so as to oppress them because of their homosexuality in Cuba.

In light of this tendency, a high degree of political consciousness is required in order to prevent these distortions from getting out of hand.

Some gay North Americans have said that we are asking them to go "back in the closet". This is a clear example of a distortion of the BV policy demanding all brigadistas to strive to be consistent anti-imperialists, both in theory and in practice, in words and in action. Cultural imperialist activity is not and will not be tolerated on the BV. Clearly, this is the only logical position that an anti-imperialist project can take.

## THE POLICY OF THE BRIGADA VENCEREMOS

1. Since there has been no fundamental basis of support in the gay liberation movement for the Cuban Revolution; and since the BV stands for firm solidarity with the Cuban Revolution as its primary objective; we do not see any purpose in recruiting from any movement which at this time does not openly share that objective.

2. As there are some gay North Americans who do share that objective, we will require of them a much higher degree of political consciousness. This is because of several factors. The BV involves activity within the Cuban setting. As guests of the Cuban Revolution, we must also realize that internal questions concerning Cuba's development can only be answered by the Cuban people; answers cannot be imposed from the outside. Only the Cuban people have all of the essential elements to analyze and solve their problems correctly. North Americans, who are usually divorced from a historical understanding of Cuba, have a tendency to totally distort the Cuban Revolution, e.g., the question concerning Cuban homosexuals.

It should be clear that the BV is not pretending to analyze the potential or validity of the gay liberation movement. The potential or validity of any sector in the U.S. movement will be determined by their practice within the context of the anti-imperialist struggle carried out inside the U.S.

We recognize that progressive people in the gay liberation movement are struggling to overcome the tendencies mentioned above. As it becomes clear from their efforts that a stronghold of support for the Cuban Revolution exists, both in theory and in practice, in the broad base of the gay movement (as it does in other progressive sectors in the movement in the U.S.), the BV will respond to that revolutionary direction.

—The National Committee of the Venceremos Brigade, 1971

excerpted from *Turquoise*, internal organ of the Venceremos Brigade  
reprinted in *Wail*, Feb. 15, 1977, p. 15-16



## INTERVIEW WITH YOUTH COLUMN LEADER:

Paula Diaz, the Centennial Youth Column leader described the Column's policy of excluding lesbians and homosexuals. "All homosexuals in general -- we call them inverts -- are prohibited. The young people should be young people who are able to carry with dignity the name of the Column. That kind of person can't be with us. They're antisocial people, prohibited in our society."

**WHY ARE HOMOSEXUALS PROHIBITED IN CUBAN SOCIETY?**

"Because they are going against the development of our society. This is our criterion. They're going against the ideological formation of young people. We think homosexuality is an immoral act."

**IS THIS A HERITAGE FROM ROMAN CATHOLICISM?**

"We have no vestiges from the Church. It is against the ideological formation of our young people. These people have a weak character. Sometimes it is a question of being born with it. Other times because of the education persons got in their home. We don't treat them as bastards. They have the opportunity to participate as any other man, even though we are fighting not to increase the number of homosexuals. It's possible some people practice homosexuality as part of struggling against their society, a protest in capitalist society. But the homosexual can't be a Marxist. He could only be a progressive person."

**IS THIS BASED ON MARX'S WRITING?**

"It's not exactly that Marx wrote about that subject. It's because a person's behavior shouldn't be immoral. The fundamental roles of men and women in a Revolution like ours is to create a developed country, to become fully developed people and to create a developed country. That's why we can't understand young people who are homosexuals."

**COULD A PERSON WHO MASTURBATES BE A TRUE MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY?**

"It would depend on the person. It depends. It is one thing to do it and another to practice it as a need to have it, a habit. If a person did that it would be against the Revolution and he couldn't be a Revolutionary. We are seeking to form the new man without any mental aberrations. That is why it is impossible to consider as Revolutionary a person with these aberrations. We are concerned with bad comportment. People should be completely equal, the same. We are concerned that people be born and be educated in the same social method. This way men and women, black and white, are considered the same. Homosexuality is a capitalist inheritance."

*Inside Cuba, Joe Nicholson, 1974, p. 119-121*

## INTERVIEW WITH FIDEL CASTRO

**LOCKWOOD:** There has apparently been an organized effort by men in your government to deal firmly with homosexuals, some of whom were in positions of responsibility. It seemed that a general, naively conceived effort was under way to stamp out homosexuality.

**CASTRO:** That problem has not been sufficiently studied nor sufficiently analyzed. Nor do I believe that definitive norms exist yet anywhere in relation to this delicate problem.

We have considered it our duty to take at least minimum measures to the effect that those positions in which one might have a direct influence upon children and young people should not be in the hands of homosexuals, above all in educational centers.

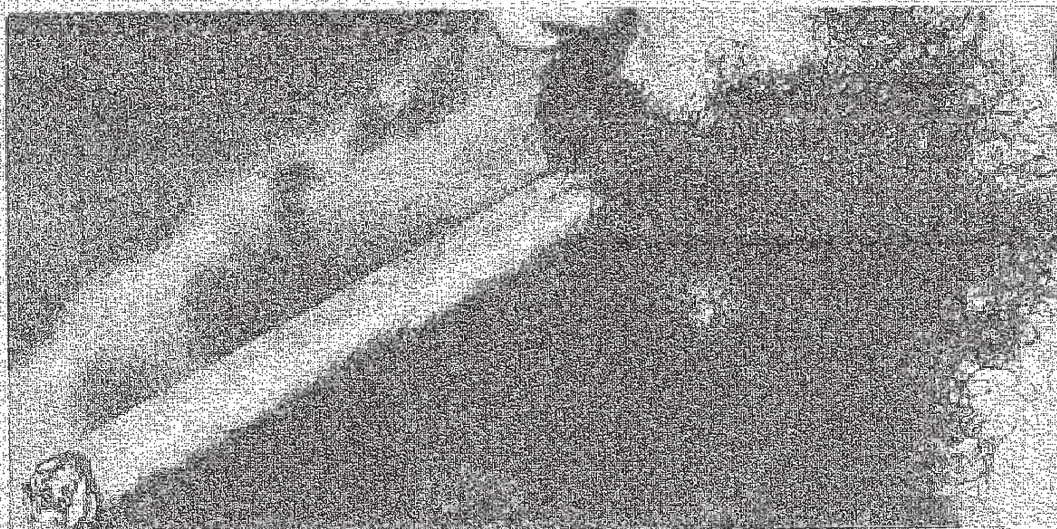
**LOCKWOOD:** Is it your position that if one is a homosexual he cannot be a Revolutionary?

**CASTRO:** Nothing prevents a homosexual from professing revolutionary ideology and, consequently, exhibiting a correct political position. In this case he should not be considered politically negative. And yet we would never come to believe that a homosexual could embody the conditions and requirements of conduct that would enable us to consider him a true Revolutionary, a true Communist militant. A deviation of that nature clashes with the concept we have of what a militant Communist must be.

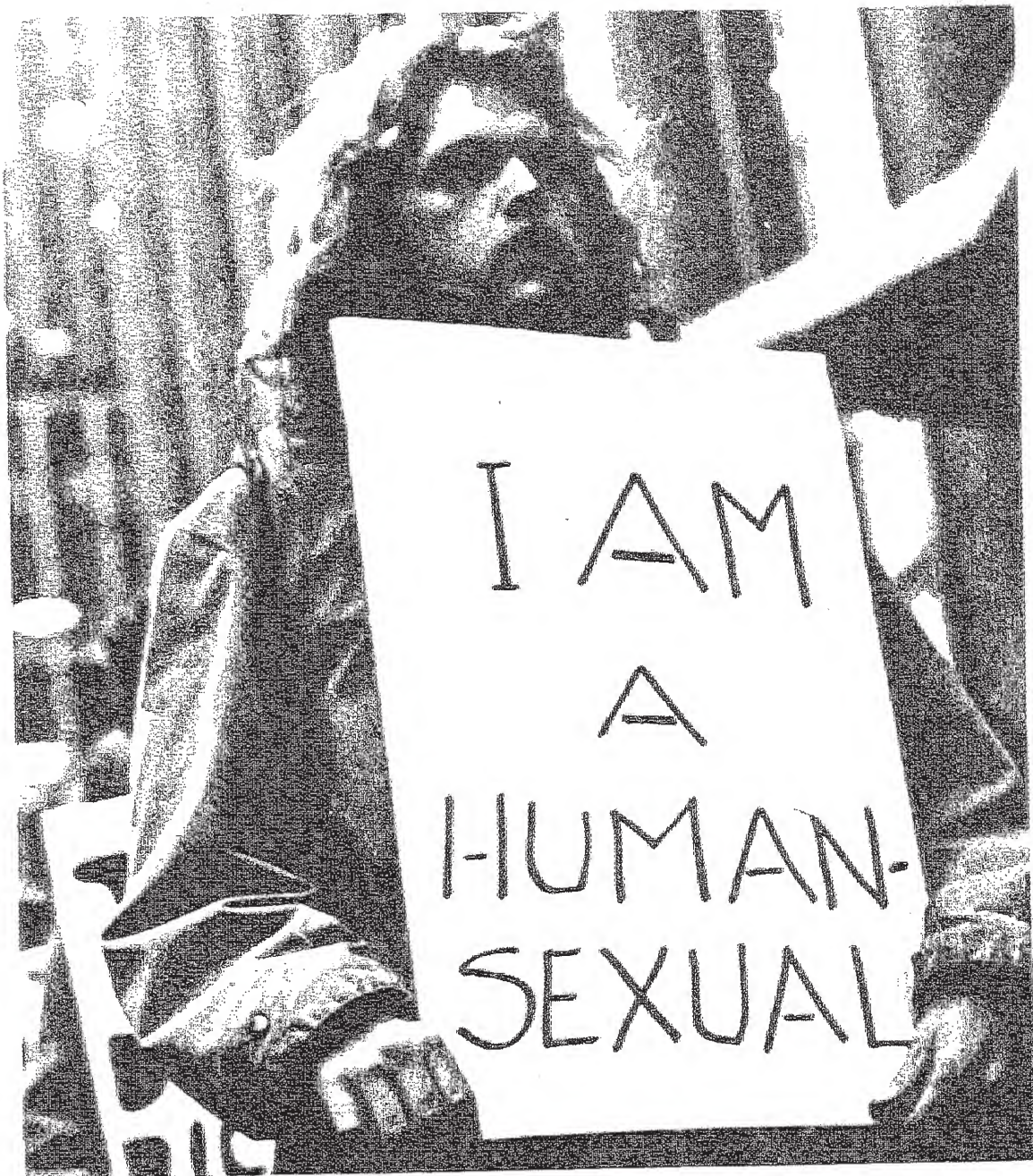
But above all, I do not believe that anybody has a definite answer as to what causes homosexuality. I think the problem must be studied very carefully. But I will be frank and say that homosexuals should not be allowed in positions where they are able to exert influence upon young people. In the conditions under which we live, because of the problems which our country is facing, we must inculcate our youth with the spirit of discipline, of struggle, of work. In my opinion, everything that tends to promote in our youth the strongest possible spirit, activities related in some way with the defense of the country, such as sports, must be promoted. This attitude may or may not be correct, but it is our honest feeling.

It may be in some cases a person is homosexual for pathological reasons. It would indeed be arbitrary if such a person were maltreated for something over which he has no control. You can only ask yourself, when assigning a person to a position of responsibility, what are the factors which might help that person do his job well, and what are those that might hinder him?

*Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Castro, Lee Lockwood, 1969, p. 128-129*







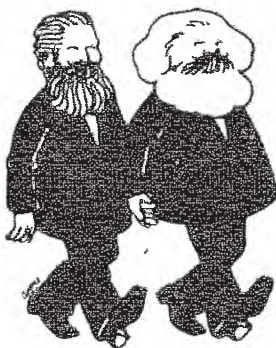
We are against homosexuality as we are against heterosexuality; these are words which take reality only in a socially determined context. It is necessary to destroy this social context so the words will no longer have any meaning. The same goes for relations between men and women, for the family and for the notion of power: we are against whoever presumes to seize power, whatever the ideology with which he identifies himself. Power is not for the taking, it is the notion of power that is to be destroyed.

---Front Homosexuel d'Action Revolutionnaire

*translated by Louis Landerson*



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